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A Note on the Source of Michel Beheim's *Ain gruss und ain lob der juncfrawen*

William C. McDonald

University of Virginia

Sometime between 1461 and 1465/6, while in the service of Emperor Frederick III of Habsburg, Michel Beheim, the peripatetic poet-composer,¹ versified and set to music a German prose version of the *Ave ancilla trinitatis* (Hail (Mary), Handmaid of the Trinity), which he named: *Ain gruss und ain lob der juncfrawen Maria* (A Salutation and Praise of the Virgin Mary). This song-poem, the precise source text for which has heretofore remained unidentified, follows here:

Pis grust, Maria, auss erwelt,
dienerin der hailgen drivelt,
tachter des vater gotes,
Muter des sunes Jhesu Crist,
5 gespuns des hailgen gaistz du pist
ain swester sunder spotes
Der engel wunnesone.
du pist unser fur sprecherin,
von den propheten du kungin,
10 der patriarchen frone,
Der zwolff potn maisterin du pist,
lererin der ewangenlist.
dein wird ist unverhawen,
Du trosterin der marterer,
15 gnadreicher prunn der peichtiger,
cron und czir der juncfrawen,
Ain peschirmerin unde
auff enthalterin aller der,

- die ir haffenung mit peger
 20 in dich seczen zu grunde.
 O edle maget hoch genem,
 du glori czu Jerusalem,
 ain fröwd in Israhele,
 Ain lucern des himels und da
 25 der erden. mach mir, Maria,
 lauter, klar, sunder mele
 Mein gewissen mit namen.
 mein hercz pegab mit den vil klarn
 tugenden, mein sel pis pewarn
 30 vor allem ubel. amen.²

[Hail, Mary, exalted and venerable, servant of the Holy Trinity, daughter of God the Father, mother of Jesus Christ the Son, spouse of the Holy Spirit. Thou art a blameless sister of the glorious angelic host. Thou art our advocate of the prophets [sic], thou queen of the godly patriarchs. Thou art the mentor to the apostles and instructor of the evangelists. Thy honor is spotless. Thou, comfort for martyrs, merciful fount for confessors, crown and ornament of virgins, protector and upholder of all those placing their hope fervently and utterly in thee. O, noble maiden, perfectly amiable, glory of Jerusalem, joy of Israel, shining light of heaven and earth. Mary, make my conscience especially unsullied, pure, and free from blemish; endue my heart with every measure of radiant goodness; keep my soul from all evil. Amen.]

Opening his verses with a salutation to Mary, Beheim first identifies her with the Holy Trinity, then lists her many names and roles in salvation history: servant of the Trinity, daughter of God, Mother of Christ, spouse of the Holy Ghost, sister of the angels, advocate for humans, queen of the prophets and patriarchs, supervisor of the apostles, teacher of the evangelists, comforter of martyrs, fount of mercy for confessors, and crown of the virgins. He extols Mary as the intercessor and protector of all those seeking her aid. She is the glory of Jerusalem and joy of Israel, a shining light in heaven and on earth.

The devotional text ends with a threefold entreaty to the Virgin. He implores her: to grant him a pure and free conscience, thus making him pleasing in her sight; to inculcate multifold virtues in his heart; and to preserve his soul from wickedness.

Three triads underpin this song-poem, each evoking the Trinity. The first is the tripartite construction of the text (salutation, laudation, and supplication); the second divides the supplication itself into three parts (clear conscience, virtuous heart, preservation of the soul). And the third triad multiplies the number three by three for the purpose of cataloging the range of entities to whom the Virgin provides succor: angels, prophets, patriarchs, apostles, evangelists, martyrs, confessors, virgins and suffering sinners. Relying yet again on the number three, Beheim allots his song 30 verses.

In his work, Michel Beheim devotes special attention to the veneration of the Virgin Mary, thus making his version of the *Ave ancilla trinitatis* no anomaly. He lauds her in almost 40 song-poems, roughly a tenth of his lyric production. The theme of the union of the Virgin and the Holy Trinity is prominent,³ as is the identification of Mary as the handmaid of the Lord, the *ancilla Domini* of Scripture.⁴ Familiar with the range of literary forms of Marian piety, Beheim seems to want to try his hand at each, for example, the antiphon *Salve regina* (no. 49), a paraphrase of the Lucan Annunciation (no. 117a), and the 72 names of Mary — one of which is *ancilla* (no. 304: 34). His aim is both to acquaint his audience with Mariological lore, which he delivers almost entirely in the vernacular, and to teach his audience when, and how, to pray to the Virgin, as the following excerpt illustrates:

Ich fleuh zu dir, du raine mait ellipsis
wer rufft dich ye an dem du ichcz
dein hilff tailest zu güte
In seiner not und swere?

[I humbly beseech thee, thou pure maiden...Anyone calling
on thee will be granted help in his affliction and distress; no.
86: 61-7].

In treating the *Ave ancilla trinitatis* he was guided by this very dual purpose, instructing the faithful about Mary's relationship to the Holy Trinity and other entities, and offering model invocations and salutations to the Queen of Heaven. There is scant secondary literature on the *Ave ancilla trinitatis* itself, and almost nothing on Beheim's version of the prayer.⁵ Realizing how dependent Michel Beheim was on source texts of every variety, even prayers, the attempt will be made here to locate the (Latin) prayer on which he drew.

The *Ave ancilla trinitatis* is a celebration of Mary's intimate connection to the Trinity and her status as the servant of the Lord.⁶ The term *ancilla* is taken directly from St. Luke's account of the Annunciation in the Vulgate (1:38), it being Mary's designation for herself as the handmaid of the Lord. The little scholarship on this prayer-type falsely identifies it as arising in the 14th-century.⁷ Instead, as I have shown elsewhere, it has roots in the early medieval *Akathistos*, the Byzantine hymn to the Virgin.⁸ In Germany this prayer appears first, in Latin, in the 12th-century in Carthusian circles in the Mainz region. In the next century Mechthild von Magdeburg adapted it in the vernacular for one chapter, VII: 19, of her seminal mystical text, *Das fließende Licht der Gottheit* (after 1270).

Seeking out the generic place for the *Ave ancilla trinitatis* prayer, Nick Sandon calls it a 'devotional text,' then describes its general properties as 'celebrating Mary's attributes relative to various entities descending from the Trinity and its individual persons, through angels, prophets, patriarchs, evangelists, apostles, martyrs, confessors and virgins to mankind... [The repetitiveness of the text] acts like a mantra or the steady contemplation of a religious image, and helps in the attainment of a state of devout concentration...'⁹ The prayer combines an abundance of Marian predications (handmaid of the Trinity, daughter, mother, sister, spouse, advocate, queen, teacher, consoler, protector, and intercessor), with a petition for her intercession. It is thus a proclamation, and celebration, of the roles and dignities attached to Mary's name. Michel Beheim set his version of the prayer to the strophic – and melodic – structure that he labels the *osterweis* (Easter tune), choosing this name because he deems the song-type appropriate to the paschal season.¹⁰ He thus creates a prayer anthem for the edification of a secular, specifically courtly audience, before which he performed the song-poem. A public

setting for the prayer goes directly counter to the practice in German lands of including the *Ave ancilla trinitatis* in manuscripts and prayer-books, where it was intended for religious contemplation.¹¹ We now know, as will become clear below, that Michel Beheim drew his song-poem from just such a 15th-century prayer collection, one presenting the *Ave ancilla trinitatis* under its Latin title, but then offering the 11 lines of text and the circa 100 words in German.

Given the ubiquity of Marian devotional texts in the late Middle Ages when the Mary-cult was ascendant, it would seem to be a fool's errand to attempt to locate definitively the source for Beheim's prayer-text under discussion here. The reason for the search is a simple one. Only when the extent of his borrowing from model texts is known, can one assess his achievement. The search for his inspiration is ongoing, and by no means have all of his song-poems been identified.¹² This can be explained in that Michel Beheim, unusual for the German Middle Ages, largely conceals his sources. In an age when adaptation was the norm, and borrowing no sign of intellectual theft, he hid his source authors. He clearly wished to claim all his work as his own, thus trumpeting the breadth and depth of his intellect and skill.

The *Ave ancilla trinitatis*, in spite of its fealty to genre conventions in respect to doctrine, images and Marian nomenclature, does make room for individual expressions of devotion. This individuality traditionally appears at the closing, in the *nobiscum/ mecum* section, where the supplicant asks the Virgin to 'be with us/me' in times of tribulation, etc. One German version from Beheim's century bids Mary to lend the author power sufficient to overcome enemies.¹³ Striking in Beheim's concluding verses is his reference to conscience (*gewissen*, v. 27), a word appearing infrequently in his work. The supplicant entreats the Virgin to render his conscience unsullied, pure and free from blemish.

The subject of conscience, particularly the relationship of the German concept of *Gewissen* to its Latin counterpart *conscientia* in the Middle Ages, has been much studied.¹⁴ The sermons of Berthold von Regensburg, together with the writings of Marquard von Lindau and Nicholas von Dinkelsbühl, have been included in the various source studies. These last two might seem to be the most promising, inasmuch as he was greatly influenced by the so-called Viennese

School of religious authors, having versified and set to song several of their catechetical writings.¹⁵ But Beheim's reference to Mary's role in the shaping of his conscience was not drawn from those authors in the milieu of the University of Vienna. It was simply extracted from his source text. This model he borrowed largely whole, adding filler words (and the occasional remark, as observed below) in order to complete the metrical and musical scheme of his adaptation of the *Ave ancilla trinitatis*.

Only peripherally, therefore, does Beheim join the colloquy on the concept of conscience in the German literature of the later Middle Ages. His role is limited to the diffusion of words on the Virgin's role in fashioning the human conscience that he borrowed whole from a vernacular version of the *Ave ancilla trinitatis*. The terms 'significant borrowing' and 'textual dependence,' and words of this sort, are thus not apt when assessing his technique in crafting his paean to Mary. Beheim does all but copy out a prayer from his source text, which he found in a widely disseminated Bavarian collection of prayers and sacred texts for the lay patron Elisabeth Ebran.¹⁶ Her collection was begun around 1426 by her father confessor, Johannes von Indersdorf (d. 1470), the Augustinian canon and provost who is closely identified with ecclesiastical reform in Bavaria.¹⁷ The purpose of the Ebran compilation was to gather in one place texts for private, daily devotions and spiritual reflection.¹⁸

The exemplar of the Ebran manual of devotion used in this paper to identify Beheim's source text for the prayer is probably the earliest: MS Cgm 29 (f. 49r), dated 1432-1448, now in the Bayerische Staatsbibliothek München.¹⁹ It is uncertain how, and when, Michel Beheim had the opportunity to consult the version in Ebran. But we do know that it was compiled during his early career and that he, like Johannes von Indersdorf, stood in close contact with the Bavarian ducal court, our poet having served Duke Albrecht III of Bavaria (1453-1454).²⁰ Beheim so prized his adaptation of Ebran's *Ave ancilla trinitatis* that it appears in three of his manuscripts.²¹ Here follows the text of the Ebran prayer (according to MS Cgm 29 and retaining the scribal line pattern) from which Michel Beheim borrowed with minimal modifications:

Bis gruzzt maria ein dyeren der heyligen Driualtikayt

Ein muter Jhesu Christi, Ein gesponß des heyiligen geyst
 Ein swester der Engel du pist vns versprochen von den
 propheten, du kunigyn der Patriarchen, ein maystryn der
 zwelif
 poten, Ein lerarin der Ewangelisten, Ein Trosteryn der
 martreer
 Ein gnadenreycher prun der peychtigar, Ein kron vnd ein
 czier
 der Junckfrawn, Ein beschirmerin vnd auf halteryn aller der
 dy ir hofnug [hoffnung?] in dich seczn, Du Glori zw
 Jherusalem, Ein frewd
 In Israhel, Ein lucern hymels vnd der erd, Mach lawter lie
 ben maria vnd klar meyn gewissen, mein hercz begab mit
 tugenten meyn sel behutt vor allem vbel Amen.

[Hail, Mary, servant of the Holy Trinity: mother of Jesus Christ, spouse of the Holy Spirit, sister of the angels. Thou art promised to us by the prophets, thou queen of the patriarchs, mentor to the apostles, instructor of the evangelists, comfort for martyrs, merciful fount for confessors, crown and ornament of virgins, protector and upholder of all those placing their hope in thee. Thou glory of Jerusalem, joy of Israel, light of heaven and earth. Make, dear Mary, my conscience unsullied and pure; endue my heart with moral excellence; preserve my soul from evil. Amen. That which is written here is called the Golden Ave Maria.]

Erich Petzet, commenting on the *Ave ancilla trinitatis* in Ebran (MS Cgm 29), describes it as one of several translations of Latin hymns in German prose.²² This is a misleading designation. It is no hymn, but a prayer, frequently embedded in larger sacred contexts, for instance, the litany.²³ As if to forestall any confusion, the scribe in Ebran identifies the prayer with its Latin title *Ave* (here *Aue*) *ancilla trinitatis*, then composes 11 lines of German prose, closing with the epilogue: *Daz ist genant Daz/ Guldn Aue maria daz/ Oben gescriben stet* (That which is written here is called the 'Golden Ave Maria').²⁴ This reference to the 'Golden Ave Maria' is intended to distinguish it from

the traditional Marian prayer, *Ave Maria* (*Ave Maria, gratia plena, Dominus tecum*, etc.). The honorific 'golden' is a traditional epithet for the Virgin, the *virgo aurea*.²⁵

A comparison of Beheim's rendering of the *Ave ancilla trinitatis* with his source text, Ebran, is instructive, clarifying as it does practices of borrowing, and adaptation. To demonstrate the similarities, and differences, I place the two alongside each other:

Ebran

Bis gruzzt maria
ein dyeren der heyiligen
Driualtikayt

Ein muter Jhesu Christi
Ein gesponß des heyiligen
geyst
Ein swester der Engel

du pist vns versprochen

von den propheten du
kunigyn
der Patriarchen
ein maystryn der zwelif
poten
Ein lerarin der
Ewangelisten
Ein Trosteryn der martrer
Ein gnadenreycher prun
der peychtigar
Ein kron vnd ein czier der
Junckfrawn
Ein beschirmerin vnd
auf halteryn aller der
dy ir hofnug [hoffnung?]
in dich seczn

Beheim (No.87)

Pis grust, Maria, auss erwelt
dienerin der hailgen drivelt
tachter des vater gotes

Muter des sunes Jhesu Crist
gespuns des hailgen gaistz du
pist
ain swester sunder spotes
Der engel wunnesone

du pist unser für sprecherin

von den propheten du
kungin
der patriarchen frone
Der zwolff potn maisterin du
pist
lererin der ewangenlist
dein wird ist unverhawen
Du trosterin der marterer
gnadreicher prunn der
peichtiger
cron und czir der
juncfrawen
Ain peschirmerin unde
auff enthalterin aller der
die ir haffenung mit peger
in dich seczen zu grunde
O edle maget hoch genem

Du Glori zw Jherusalem	du glori czu Jerusalem
Ein frewd In Israhel	ain fröwd in Israhele
Ein lucern hymels vnd	Ain lucern des himels und da
der erd Mach lawter lieben	der erden mach mir Maria
maria	lauter klar sunder mele
vnd klar	Mein gewissen mit namen
meyn gewissen	mein hercz pegab mit den vil
mein hercz begab mit	klarn
	tugenden mein sel pis pewarn
tugenten meyn sel behutt	vor allem ubel amen
vor allem vbel Amen.	

Beheim's deviations from the model text are, as said, generally minor and explained by dictates of form, both metrical and musical. He adds epithets for the Virgin, for instance, *auss erwelt* (exalted, venerable, distinguished; v.1); adjectives, for example, *wunnesone* (glorious, delightful; v.7); a laudatory phrase, *dein wird ist unverhawen* (thy honor is spotless; v. 13); and he deviates slightly from Ebran, when speaking of the Virgin's power to protect the soul from all harm, by using the verb *pewarn* (*bewarn*: keep, save; v. 29), whereas the model text has *behutt* (*behüeten*: preserve, protect).

If these are small, explainable differences, two larger ones stand out, one influencing the theology of Beheim's song-poem. He apparently misunderstands the syntax of his source, causing him to misinterpret it, when rendering Ebran's passage: *du pist vns versprochen von den propheten, du kunigyn der Patriarchen...* ('Thou art promised to us by the prophets, thou queen of the patriarchs...'). Its sense is — and this is confirmed by consulting 15th-century Latin versions of the *Ave ancilla trinitatis* — that Mary, the queen, is the promise of the prophets (*promissio prophetarum*).²⁶ Beheim, on the other hand, renders the source text as: *du pist unser fur sprecherin/ von den propheten du kungin/ der patriarchen frone* (v. 8-10; 'Thou art our advocate of the prophets, thou queen of the godly patriarchs.'). To be sure, *advocatrix* (patroness) is one of the many names and roles of the Virgin, but Beheim garbles the syntax, missing, too, the meaning of the passage. Ebran celebrates Mary as prefigured in Scripture, thus as one promised 'to us' by the prophets.

Beheim's confusion therefore has doctrinal consequences — and must have puzzled his audience.

Another difference is striking, but explainable. Beheim augments his source with the Marian appellation *tachter des vater gotes* ('daughter of God the Father'; v.3). Peter Kern, writing on Mary, the Trinity and the Incarnation, cites Beheim's verse, noting that references to the Virgin as daughter of God the Father, mother of God the Son, and bride of the Holy Ghost appear in German poetry from the 13th century on.²⁷ What Beheim has added is, tellingly enough, familiar to *Spruchdichtung*, the genre of gnomic, monodic song-poems to which he was devoted, that treats politics, morals, and ethics. This leads us to examine more closely Beheim's art of composition and theory of musical performance.

His adaptation of the *Ave ancilla trinitatis* is monodic and intended for delivery by a single singer — himself. This is consistent with his conservative theory of composition and performance, according to which he consistently employs a single melodic line and prizes a lone singing voice. It is unclear in which measure he made use of instrumental accompaniment. He may have accompanied himself on a stringed instrument, gently plucked, intending the instrument for embellishment and light ornamentation to underscore the words of his text. Even the occasional use of a droning tone/undertone as accompaniment, is not to be ruled out entirely. In any event, it is certain that Michel Beheim cherished monophonic vocal music, interspersing his performances with brief 'speech-song.' His disdain for, to his ears, noisy instrumental music is reflected in the absence of instrumental parts in his musical scores and is plain from his song-poem celebrating vocal music (*singens kunst*):

...pfeiffen, saitenspille,
pusamen, orgeln klank
krank ist wider gesank.

[flute-like instruments, string-music, trumpets, the clank of the organ: (These are) trifling in contrast to singing; no. 321:7-9]

Beheim, as a practitioner of *Spruchdichtung*, a centuries-old art form that numbered among its practitioners Walther von der Vogelweide (d. ca.1230),²⁸ is championing an outmoded performance style. Themes other than love treated by *Spruchdichter* include political propaganda, societal appreciation of the singer's status, morals, ethics, the difficulties of the artist's life, and religious concerns. The tenor is didactic. Assuming the mantle of educator and priest-in-song, authors of the *Sangspruch* were important for the promotion of popular piety among the laity in the Middle Ages.

As one of the final exponents of the *Sangspruch*, Beheim was plainly out-of-step with composers of the 15th and early 16th centuries, including Andreas de Silva (fl. 1520), Heinrich (Henricus) Isaac (d. 1517), Josquin Desprez (d. 1521), Antoine Brumel (d. 1512/13), Hugh Aston (d. 1558), Nicholas Ludford (d. 1557), and William Stourton (fl. early 1500s). There is no sign that he was influenced by Franco-Flemish musical trends, or any polyphonic innovations. Beheim's reliance on monophony and his aversion to musical instruments thus marked his art for obsolescence, and certainly contributed to his dismissal from the court of the Elector Palatine in Heidelberg.²⁹ It is probably no coincidence that, in the very year of his presumed departure, 1472, Johannes (Steinwert) von Soest (d. 1506), the celebrated chorister and music theoretician, was appointed by the same court to the post of *Kapellmeister* in the Heidelberg court chapel for life.³⁰ Soest, learned in liturgical polyphony and mentor to Sebastian Virdung, the author of a treatise on musical instruments (1511), is known as a Renaissance musician. This Michel Beheim was decidedly not. Alienated from the new music and modes of performance, he refused to adapt — or was unable to. He left the post of poet-composer in the face of a polyphony that was to revivify the *Ave ancilla trinitatis*.³¹

Notes

¹ Michel Beheim (d. c. 1474) enjoyed a long career among the political elite of his day, finding sustenance from high lay nobles, among them Margrave Albrecht Achilles von Brandenburg-Ansbach (1449-1453); King Ladislaus Postumus (1454-1457); and the Elector Palatine, Frederick I (1468- c.1472). Son of a weaver, Beheim was a wandering professional author, musical composer (his melodies are preserved), performer and scribe. He was intimately involved in the

recording, and editing (excisions, overstrikes) of his over 450 works, comprising individual song-poems, song-cycles, and rhymed chronicles. Viewing himself as a religious preceptor in song, Beheim, an important promoter of lay spirituality through his ethical and moral songs, sought to expose his audience to a wide range of devotional material. Through song-poems like his version of the *Ave ancilla trinitatis* under discussion here, he strove to inculcate morals at court. His efforts, through song, to encourage self-examination and piety situate him within the so-called 'theology of piety' (*Frömmigkeitstheologie*) of the late Middle Ages, as understood by Berndt Hamm, for example. Literary piety our spiritual author joins to music: every verse of his vast oeuvre can be sung and performed – including his historical records. In short, he conceived of his corpus as a kind of collective song. On Beheim, see William C. McDonald, 'Whose Bread I Eat: The Song-Poetry of Michel Beheim' (Göppingen, Kümmerle, 1981); Friederike Niemeyer, *Ich, Michel Pehn: Zum Kunst- und Rollenverständnis des meisterlichen Berufsdichters Michel Beheim* (Frankfurt am Main, Lang, 2001). The most complete chronology of Beheim's career is given by Frieder Schanze, *Meisterliche Liedkunst zwischen Heinrich von Mügeln und Hans Sachs. Band I: Untersuchungen* (München, Zürich, Artemis Verlag, 1983), pp. 183–190. The modes of singing and reading in Michel Beheim's work are treated by Manfred G. Scholz, *Zum Verhältnis von Mäzen, Autor und Publikum im 14. und 15. Jahrhundert* (Darmstadt, Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 1987); and Ingeborg Spriewald, *Literatur zwischen Hören und Lesen: Wandel von Funktion und Rezeption im späten Mittelalter – Fallstudien zu Beheim, Folz und Sachs* (Berlin, Aufbau-Verlag, 1990). On the theology of piety, see especially, Berndt Hamm, *Frömmigkeitstheologie am Anfang des 16. Jahrhunderts: Studien von Johannes von Paltz und seinem Umkreis* (Tübingen, J. C. B. Mohr, 1982); 'Was ist Frömmigkeitstheologie?' Überlegungen zum 14. bis 16. Jahrhundert,' in *Praxis Pietatis: Beiträge zu Theologie und Frömmigkeit in der Frühen Neuzeit*, ed. H.-J. Nieden and M. Nieden (Stuttgart, Berlin, Köln, Kohlhammer, 1999), pp. 9–45; and *The Reformation of Faith in the Context of Late Medieval Theology and Piety: Essays by Berndt Hamm*, ed. R. J. Bast (Leiden, Boston, Brill, 2004), pp. 19–22. See, also, *Die neue Frömmigkeit in Europa im Spätmittelalter*, ed. M. Derwich and M. Staub (Göttingen, Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2004). Cf. William C. McDonald, 'Singing Sin: Michel Beheim's 'Little Book of the Seven Deadly Sins.' a German Pre-Reformation Religious Text for the Laity,' in *Sin in Medieval and Early Modern Culture: The Tradition of the Seven Deadly Sins*, ed. R. G. Newhauser and S. J. Ridyard (Woodbridge, York Medieval Press, 2012), pp. 282–303.

² All quotations from Michel Beheim's work are taken from *Die Gedichte des Michel Beheim*, ed. H. Gille and I. Spriewald, 3 vols. (Berlin, Akademie Verlag, 1968–1972). *Ain gruss und ain lob der juncfrawen Maria* appears as song-poem no. 87 in vol. I, p. 254. English translations are my own; Latin renderings are by Andrew Merritt. Verse 22 of the critical edition is given by the editors as *du glori der Jerusalem*. However, this reading (with puzzling syntax) has only one manuscript (Cpg 334–C) to support it, whereas the variant reading *du glori czu Jerusalem* is represented twice in Beheim-manuscripts (Cpg 312–A and Cpg 351–E). The latter, as the present study shows, deserves to be the standard for the verse, inasmuch as Michel Beheim borrowed it from his source text. On Beheim's manuscripts, see Schanze, *Meisterliche Liedkunst zwischen Heinrich von Mügeln und Hans Sachs. Band I*, pp. 191–205.

³ See, for example, song-poems nos. 163, 290, and 300.

⁴ See song-poems nos. 31, 291, and 366.

⁵ Consult, for example, Burghart Wachinger, 'Goldenes Ave Maria,' *Verfasserlexikon*, 2nd ed. (Berlin, New York, de Gruyter, 1981), vol. 3, pp. 80–4; and Frieder Schanze and Burghart Wachinger, *Repertorium der Sangsprüche und Meisterlieder des 12. bis 18. Jahrhunderts: Katalog der Texte, Älterer Teil A–F* (Tübingen, Niemeyer, 1986), vol. 3, pp. 53–4.

⁶ See Peter Kern, *Trinität, Maria, Inkarnation: Studien zur Thematik der deutschen Dichtung des späteren Mittelalters* (Berlin, Erich Schmidt, 1971); Maria Elisabeth Gössmann, *Die Verkündigung an Maria im dogmatischen Verständnis des Mittelalters* (München, Hueber,

1957); Michael O'Carroll, 'Handmaid of the Lord,' in *Theotokos: A Theological Encyclopedia of the Blessed Virgin Mary* (Wilmington, Delaware, Glazier, 1983), p. 166; Joseph Vogt, 'Ecce Ancilla Domini: Eine Untersuchung zum sozialen Motiv des antiken Marienbildes,' *Vigiliae Christianae*, 23 (1969): 241-263; and Sarah Jane Boss, *Empress and Handmaid: On Nature and Gender in the Cult of the Virgin Mary* (London, New York, Cassell, 2000).

⁷ Wachinger, p. 80.

⁸ William C. McDonald, 'Ave ancilla trinitatis (Goldenes Ave Maria): The Identification of a Marian Prayer-Type in Mechthild von Magdeburg's *Das fließende Licht der Gottheit* (VII: 19),' *Frühmittelalterliche Studien* 46 (2012): 301-20. Leena Mari Peltomaa, in *The Image of the Virgin Mary in the Akathistos Hymn* (Leiden, Boston, Köln, Brill, 2001), Preface, dates the hymn between 431 and 451.

⁹ Hugh Aston: *Ave Maria ancilla trinitatis*, ed. Nick Sandon (Devon, Antico, 2004), Introduction.

¹⁰ See Christoph Petzsch, 'Die Melodien und ihre Überlieferung,' in *Die Gedichte des Michel Beheim* (as our n. 2), vol. 3, pp. 451-486. Petzsch illustrates what he labels the 'Osterweise' on p. 475. Within its scores of song-poems Michel Beheim explores a theological spectrum extending far beyond Mariology, treating subject matter that includes the creation and fate of the angels; the signs of damnation and election; the childhood of Christ; the Deadly Sins; the Decalogue; the Turks; prophecies by Hildegard von Bingen; theological questions (for example, why God wished to be born as a child); the circumcision of Christ; the name 'Jesus'; the Three Kings; glosses on the New Testament based on the sacred writings of the Nicholas von Dinkelsbühl-redactor, as well as a versification of portions of the prose devotional booklet *Büchlein von der Liebhabung Gottes* by Thomas Peuntner.

¹¹ See, for example, the version of the *Ave ancilla trinitatis* appearing in the Mainz region in the 12th century within a *Liber precum*, under the title *Salutatio ad sanctam Mariam* (Greeting to Saint Mary). In: Mainz 361 [Hs1 361] f. 77v-80r; cited by G. G. Meersseman, *Der Hymnos Akathistos im Abendland: Akathistos-Akoluthie und Grusshymnen*, 2 vols. (Freiburg-Schweiz: Universitätsverlag 1958), vol. 1, pp. 181-3. The text follows:

Ave, decus virgineum. / Ave, iubar etherium. / Ave, filia patriarcharum. / Ave, desiderium prophetarum. / Ave, thesaurus sanctorum apostolorum. / Ave, laus martyrum. / Ave, glorificatio sacerdotum. / Ave, decus et corona virginum. / Ave, gloria celorum. / Ave, gaudium sanctorum angelorum. / Ave, salus miserorum. / Ave, mater creatoris omnium / et salvatoris suorum fidelium. / Ave, laudanda et glorificanda ab omni creatura. / Ave, gloria, gaudium et corona omnium sanctorum. / Ave, celorum regina, / cui plenariter divina / est infusa gratia. / Ave, spes mea. / Ave, fiducia mea. / Ave, consolatio mea. / Ave, refugium meum. / Ave, tota vita mea. [Hail, maidenly dignity; hail, ethereal radiance; hail, daughter of the patriarchs; hail, longing of the prophets; hail, treasure of the holy apostles; hail, praise of martyrs; hail, glorification of priests; hail, graceful ornament and crown of virgins; hail, glory of heaven; hail, joy of the holy angels; hail, salvation of the pitiful; hail, mother of the all-creator and savior of his faithful; hail, one to be praised and glorified by all creation; hail, glory, joy, and crown of all the saints; hail, queen of heaven, imbued with divine grace; hail, my hope; hail, my trust; hail, my consolation; hail, my refuge; hail, my whole life.]

¹² See Burghart Wachinger, 'Michel Beheim: Prosabuchquellen, Liedvortrag, Buchüberlieferung (1979),' in *Lieder und Liederbücher: Gesammelte Aufsätze zur mittelhochdeutschen Lyrik* (Berlin, New York, de Gruyter, 2011), pp. 363-93, esp. pp. 380-6.

¹³ Phillip Wackenagel, ed., *Das deutsche Kirchenlied von der ältesten Zeit bis zu Anfang des XVII. Jahrhunderts*, 1867, rpt. 2 vols. (Hildesheim, Olms, 1964), vol. 2, p. 621, v. 15: no. 803, *Marien gruß* (Salutation to Mary).

¹⁴ Uta Störmer-Caysa, *Gewissen und Buch: Über den Weg eines Begriffes in der deutschen Literatur des Mittelalters* (Berlin, New York, de Gruyter, 1998).

¹⁵ On the Viennese School of literature, see Ernst Haberkorn, *Die 'Wiener Schule' der Pastoraltheologie im 14. und 15. Jahrhundert*, 2 vols. (Göppingen, Kümmerle, 2003). Concerning the influence of this movement on Michel Beheim, see Thomas Hohmann, 'Deutsche Texte aus der 'Wiener Schule' als Quelle für Michel Beheims religiöse Gedichte,' *Zeitschrift für deutsches Altertum*, 107 (1978): 319-30.

¹⁶ See, for example: Dresden, Landesbibl., Mscr. M 180; Gotha, Forschungsbibl., Cod. Chart. B 938; Gotha, Forschungsbibl., Cod. Chart. B 940; Los Angeles, University of California, Charles E. Young Research Libr., Rouse MS 149 <http://www.handschriftencensus.de/werke/2908> (accessed 20 May, 2013). See also, 4^o Cod. ms. 479, *Johannes von Indersdorf, Spruchsammlungen, Traktate, Gebete*, 1r-56v; and 8^o Cod. ms. 279, *Johannes von Indersdorf, Traktate und Gebete*, 1r-51r. Both cited in: G. Kornrumpf and P-G. Völker, *Die deutschen mittelalterlichen Handschriften der Universitätsbibliothek München* (Wiesbaden, Harrassowitz, 1968), pp. 117 and 299-300. See also, München, BSB-Hss Cgm 4656, containing both the *Ave ancilla trinitatis* as *Bis gegruet Maria, ain dienerin der heiligen drivaldighait* (85r-87r), and Johannes von Indersdorf's prayer for Duke Wilhelm III of Bavaria (92v-98a [r]).

¹⁷ Bernhard D. Haage, 'Johannes von Indersdorf,' *Verfasserlexikon*, 2^d ed., 14 vols. (Berlin, New York, de Gruyter, 1983), vol. 4, pp. 647-51. Johannes was also the confessor to Duke Wilhelm III of Bavaria (d.1435), for whom he composed prayer cycles. See the previous note.

¹⁸ Little is known about Elisabeth Ebran, the recipient of the collection. Her father was Hans von Gumpfenberg, prominent in Bavarian politics, who is associated with the court of Duke Ludwig VII 'der Bärtige,' von Bayern-Inngolstadt (d. 1447). Elisabeth married Ulrich Ebran von Wildenberg in 1426; he was the father of Hans Ebran von Wildenberg, the chronicler. Elisabeth Ebran's spiritual volume (hereinafter: Ebran), holding prayers and devotional treatises, was transmitted into the 16th century and has come to be known under various names: *Gebetbuch für Frau Elisabeth Ebran*, (Prayer Book for Lady Elisabeth Ebran), the *Ebran-Gebetbuch*, (Ebran Prayer Book), or *Geistliche Betrachtungen und Gebete für Frau Elisabeth Ebran* (Sacred Meditations and Prayers for Lady Elisabeth Ebran). See Brigitte Weiske, 'Bilder und Gebete vom Leben und Leiden Christi: Zu einem Zyklus im Gebetbuch des Johannes von Indersdorf für Frau Elisabeth Ebran,' *Fortuna vitrea*, 12 (1993): 113-68.

¹⁹ Eric Petzet, in *Die deutschen Pergament- Handschriften Nr. 1-200 der Staatsbibliothek in München* (München, Palmsche Buchhandlung, 1920), p. 48, notes that the Ebran collection in Cgm 29 (= Bayerische Staatsbibliothek) dates from 1426-1432, and that it was entered into the MS between 1432 and 1448. On this codex and Ebran's collection, see Franz Z. X. Haimler, *Mittelalterliche Frömmigkeit im Spiegel der Gebetbuchliteratur Süddeutschlands* (München, Zink, 1952), esp. pp. 152-4.

²⁰ Strangely, Wachinger ('Goldenes Ave Maria,' p. 80), who speaks of a branch-of-transmission ('Überlieferungsweig') linking the *Ave ancilla trinitatis* to the Ebran collection, and who recognizes ('Michel Beheim,' p. 381) that Beheim's song-poem no. 86, a Marian eulogy likening the Virgin to precious stones, is based on the *Edelstein-Mariengebet* (Precious stones-Marian prayer) by Johannes von Indersdorf found in Ebran, fails to locate Beheim's song-poem under review (no. 87), as well, in Ebran, claiming (p. 381) only that it is 'eine deutsche Fassung von *Ave ancilla trinitatis*' (a German version of the *Ave*, etc.).

²¹ These are Cpg 312, 152v-153r-A; Cpg 334, 84v-C; and Cpg 351, 237rv-E. See Schanze, *Meisterliche Liedkunst zwischen Heinrich von Mügeln und Hans Sachs. Band I*, pp. 191-205, and Schanze and Burghart Wachinger, *Repertorium der Sangsprüche und Meisterlieder des 12. bis 18. Jahrhunderts*, vol. 3, pp. 53-4.

²² Petzet, p. 50: 'Übersetzungen lateinischer Hymnen in deutscher Prosa' (translations of Latin hymns in German prose).

²³ For example, see Walter Dürig, *Die Lauretanische Litanei: Entstehung, Verfasser, Aufbau und mariologischer Inhalt* (St. Ottilien, EOS, 1990).

³⁴ To be viewed online as: *Geistliche Betrachtungen und Gebete für Frau Elisabeth Ebran, geb. von Gumpenberg, und Herzog Wilhelm III. von Bayern* - BSB Cgm 29, [S.I.], 1432 - 1448 [BSB-Hss Cgm 29] (Blatt 49, recto -xliv) at: <http://daten.digital-sammlungen.de/~db/0006/bsb00069133/images/index.html?pid=00069133&file=cayaqrssdasfsdreaayqrsdxsydenxd&no=14&seite=115> (accessed 20 May, 2013).

³⁵ Anselm Salzer, *Die Sinnbilder und Beiworte Mariens in der deutschen Literatur und lateinischen Hymnenposie des Mittelalters*, 1886-1894, rpt. (Darmstadt, Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 1967), esp. pp. 227-9.

³⁶ Cited by G. G. Meersseman, *Der Hymnos Akathistos im Abendland: Gruss-Psalter, Gruss-Orationen, Gaude-Andachten und Litaneien*, 2 vols. (Freiburg-Schweiz, Universitätsverlag, 1960), vol. 2, p. 172. Cf. our n. 11: *desiderium prophetarum*.

³⁷ Kern, pp. 89-90.

³⁸ Peter Frenzel defines the song-type to which Beheim remained true: 'A lyric subgenre of courtly song, *Sangspruch* (also *Spruchdichtung*) encompassed a style of gnomic, mono-stanzaic song treating matters other than love... The singer normally composed a number of one-stanza songs with the same metrical form, rhyme scheme, and melody, a melodic poetic unit called the *Ton* (tune, plural *Töne*)...' See Frenzel, 'Sangspruch,' in *Medieval Germany: An Encyclopedia*, ed. J.M. Jeep (New York, London, Garland, 2001), pp. 694-5 (p. 694). See Olive Sayce, *The Medieval German Lyric, 1150-1300* (Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1982), p. 408. She argues that 'the most appropriate general English designation [for *Spruchdichtung*] is probably the didactic lyric, taking didactic in its widest sense to include also the treatment of religious subject-matter, political themes (since this is usually for a polemical purpose), as well as eulogy or lament (since these too repose on the notion of an instructive exemplary ideal). It corresponds in the main to the area covered by the Provençal *siyentes*.' On the aspect of performance in the Middle Ages, see Ulrich Müller, 'Performance of Medieval Texts,' in *Handbook of Medieval Studies: Terms, Methods, Trends*, ed. A. Classen, 2 vols. (Berlin, New York, de Gruyter, 2010), vol. 2, pp. 1039-1056.

³⁹ Beheim began serving Frederick I, the Elector Palatine, in Heidelberg in 1468 and left court in or near 1472. See our n. 1, esp. Schanze, *Meisterliche Liedkunst zwischen Heinrich von Mügeln und Hans Sachs*, p. 190.

⁴⁰ See Klaus Pietschmann and Steven Rozenski, Jr., 'Singing the Self: The Autobiography of The Fifteenth-Century German Singer and Composer Johannes von Soest,' *Early Music History*, 29 (2010): 119-59. On Beheim's later career and retirement as a poet-singer, see Adelheid Schlott, *Mein ganzer Reichtum ist mein Lied* (Tübingen, Deile, 2001), esp. pp. 137-8.

⁴¹ In the 16th century our prayer experienced a musical florescence. In England, prominently, the Tudor composers mentioned above, Aston, Stourton, and Ludford all tried their hand at polyphonic versions of the *Ave ancilla trinitatis*. See our n. 9. Nick Sandon has edited musical renditions of the *Ave Maria ancilla trinitatis* by Ludford (2003), Aston (2004), and Stourton (2006), all as Antico Editions (Devon). See, also, David Skinner, 'The Marian Anthem in Late Medieval England,' in *The Church and Mary*, ed. R.N. Swanson (Woodbridge, Boydell Press, 2004), pp. 168-180 (p. 173). There is a like tendency in other lands, as exemplified in the motets by Brumel (circa 1500) and Adrian Willaert (d. 1562). In respect to language, the prayer now had come full circle, the preferred language of performance being Latin, not the vernacular. Regarding the place of performance, the church or chapel supplants the court. Now, within a sacred space against a backdrop of complex rhythms, multiple singing voices laud and invoke the name of the Handmaid of the Trinity. On Willaert, see Jane A. Bernstein, *Music Printing in Renaissance Venice: The Scotto Press (1539-1572)*, (New York, Oxford, Oxford University Press, 1998), p. 244; and David Kidger, *Adrian Willaert: A Guide to Research* (New York, Routledge, 2005), pp. 114-120. Concerning vocal polyphonic music in Marian worship, see *Handbuch der Marienkunde*, ed. W. Beinert and H. Petri (Regensburg, Friedrich Pustet, 1984), pp. 631-4.